Summary

This, then, is the setting for the present day life of the Havasupai woman. Her immediate environment lies within the confines of Cataract Canyon, striking in beauty and once considered rich in life-sustaining resources. Now, however, with tribal lands mainly restricted to the canyon, and given a stabilized or increasing population and a change in economy, the former richness of Cataract Canyon has become modest indeed. It is inadequate for the number of people living there. 131 133

While the canyon home is of primary importance to the Havasupai, it by no means excludes alien influences and pressures. Even very aged Havasupai women leave the canyon with some frequency, sometimes remaining for weeks or months with relatives or friends in neighboring towns or on other reservations. It is a common misconception of visitors to Supai that the tribe lives in isolation. It must be stressed that the Havasupai see and learn much more of the outside world than white Americans ever know of the Havasupai. 574 648

Havasupai women of middle age, probably without exception, have had some formal schooling. Most of them attended boarding school for several years. Among the young adults, many of the woman have one or more years of high school. At present, youngsters spend the entire school year living at schools outside the canyon and separated from their parents. 871

Havasupai women are in touch with white American culture through radio, movies, popular records, mail order catalogues, magazines, and, more emphatically, through influences of the resident agent and missionary families, other personnel rendering services to them, and face to face contact with white people in neighboring communities as well as visitors to the reservation. 177 648

The cultural heritage of the Havasupai woman was that of a farming and hunting people, seasonally migratory and somewhat less bound to the land than were their Pueblo neighbors. The tribal culture was so unformalized as to be characterized by its meagerness of content and also by the seeming indifference or inattention to the ideal with which the Havasupai followed specific cultural patterns. While tribal traditions continue to filter from one generation to the next, customs and the body of folk knowledge are becoming much attenuated among the younger generations and are often eclipsed by foreign influences. It might be said that the young Havasupai woman of today stands with her cultural heritage as much a part of her as the shadow which extends behind her, but her mind is literally turned toward a new culture which she accepts readily as she is able to comprehend its usefulness to her. 178 182

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative. 604 [848]

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins. 605 [582]

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing." 861 867

While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary. 241 462 [177] [857]

The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs; and (3) school attendance. 178 182 861

Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition 861

881. 841 [177] A girl's careless attitude toward subsequent observance of menstrual taboos does not necessarily suggest that the same girl would have felt unconcern for tradition during her initial menses. On the contrary, flaunting of taboos more likely results from: (1) accidental infractions not followed by dire consequences; (2) association with girls of other tribes who, although not observant of Havasupai taboos, suffer none of the predicted penalties; and (3) white education and influences.

881 183 [114] In addition to the possible factors outlined above, Havasupai cultural patterns are defined somewhat loosely, individual and group behavior approximating, rather than following, that set forth in the prescribed patterns. Thus, a casual attitude toward undeviating observance of menstrual and other taboos, and toward performance or omission of behavior seemingly dictated by tribal mores, in itself, appears to be characteristic of Havasupai culture. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "Your remarks on casualness as characteristic of Havasupai behavior are very just in my opinion. It does correlate, as you say, with their individualism and the variations in activities they choose to follow."

Although this casual attitude is evident in behavior, it is only indirectly verbalized. While a child becomes the creature of his culture, it would be premature on present evidence to conclude that either the implicit casualness or the verbalized imperatives concerning the puberty ceremony might predominate in determining a pubescent girl's attitude toward omission of her puberty ceremony and her emotional reaction to the situation.

Physiological phenomena incident to menstruation, such as pain, nervous tension, dizziness, or weakness, must be discounted as factors conducive to greater emotional stress among pubescent girls absent from home, because the same symptoms doubtless occur also among girls at home.

In the absence of a conclusive explanation of the different responses reported for the two groups of pubescent girls, it is suggested that the puberty ceremony itself minimizes any emotional or physiological distress a girl may feel.

Functions of the Puberty Ceremony

881 182 The puberty ceremony functions to obtain public recognition of a girl's impending change in status from childhood to womanhood. The ceremony is held in private and is followed by no formal public announcement. Perhaps this correlates with statements that the puberty ceremony does not mark the beginning of adult status and eligibility for marriage. News of a girl's attainment of puberty is passed from person to person with about the same interest evoked by other tribal gossip. The private nature of the Havasupai puberty ceremony and the lack of emphasis upon its association with subsequent eligibility for marriage are in contrast with the public character of the Apache rite, and the accompanying change from prior

ineligibility to subsequent eligibility for marriage, as reported by Opler (1941, 82). 881 182

Among the Havasupai, the puberty ceremony's most important function may be for the girl herself. Attentions given her during the ritual puberty observance tend to: (1) dramatize a difficult experience for her by treating it as one of relative importance; (2) sustain and reinforce her ego by verbal delineation of her prospective roles, and by indirect acknowledgment of her newly acquired status; and (3) minimize possible unpleasantness of the physiological change involved by directing a girl's attention toward the ritual and its symbolism, and by emphasizing importance of her future womanly duties toward her family.

Initial fright felt by a pubescent girl living at home might easily be forgotten in the reassurance offered by the puberty ceremony and its accompanying attentiveness to the girl by her mother or another close relative.

Puberty for boys is not marked by ceremony. Perhaps the closest thing corresponding to puberty ritual was the recognition which formerly accompanied a boy's first successful deer hunt. A youth was not permitted to eat any of his first kill. He divided it instead among relatives and friends or among other hunters.

While some form of the puberty ceremony usually is performed for a girl of today, a boy no longer has the opportunity of achieving recognition through his mastery of hunting techniques. The Havasupai, of course, are restricted to hunting during annual game seasons. Wild animals no longer play an important part in their economy. [224]

Mythical Origin of Menstruation

A folktale describing the manner in which menstruation came about is incorporated in a longer story. Only the part concerning menstruation is narrated here. 841 539 773

"Long ago when the world was still wet, before the human race was here, and when the animals were like human beings, Squirrel lived in the San Francisco Mountains. One day he took the tibia of a deer and painted on it a design. After sundown, he threw the bone to the east with a prayer that a young girl would come to him with the next rising sun. The girl came just as Squirrel had prayed she would. She lived happily for a time there at the camp with her guardian, Squirrel, and her brothers, Coyote and White Dog.

"One day Coyote called to his sister saying, 'Sister, you must stay here while I go out to hunt.' After the girl had waited awhile, Coyote returned carrying a fawn he had killed. The girl was glad to see the fawn and sat

Learning About Sex

At least as far back as early reservation residence, and probably earlier during seasonal camping near the fields, young people of both sexes daily swam in Havasu Creek. Whether unchaperoned girls were permitted to swim together with boys prior to reservation days has not been learned, but members of each sex swam in separate groups under supervision of early school teachers. Because they were separated, both sexes swam nude. 864 834

At the present time, knowledge of intercourse may be learned from observation in the home, although parents strive for secrecy. However, it is acknowledged that, due to sleeping arrangements, children probably observe copulation at an early age. Older boys discuss their experiences in the presence of younger boys, and small children of both sexes may witness dogs and other animals in coitus, or may chance upon a couple in a clandestine rendezvous. One informant states that 30 or 40 years ago, older girls and boys would openly have intercourse in the presence of small children while pretending to the little ones that they were "playing house." 864 836 834

It may be significant in judging the former prevalence of some premarital experience that a groom made no trouble and asked no compensation if his bride were not a virgin. Spier (1928, 223) supports the view of present informants that neither a former marriage nor an illegitimate child made a girl less acceptable to a prospective groom, and this remains true today. [585]

It is reported, however, that in former times, a premarital sexual affair might lead to fighting between a girl's father and her lover, or to more serious consequences. "If a girl and boy went off together without thinking of marriage, and the girl's father thought they were sleeping together, he would shoot the boy," one informant said. While no case of an actual shooting was cited, such a threat may have been made. It is more likely, however, that an irate father, rather than shooting his daughter's lover, would shoot a horse or destroy property belonging to the youth in the traditional form of revenge permissible to the husband of an adulterous wife. The girl herself was severely chastized and sometimes beaten. However, such affairs apparently sometimes went undetected or, perhaps, were overlooked if a girl's parents had no objection to her lover, or if convention were not too openly flaunted. [684]

While public opinion was united in condemning premarital license, the weight of evidence indicates that, privately, people must have pretended ignorance that convention was being violated. [83]

It does not appear that the Havasupai have become socially or culturally disorganized or disintegrated to an extent likely to cause a breakdown in moral practices. Opler (1941, 141) suggests, in the words of an Apache informant, that young Chiricahua men could have intercourse with Comanche 182 834 836

182 girls, while they could not do so with their own Chiricahua girls because the
834 two tribes had a basic difference in attitude toward the subject. The Apache
836 informant thought the question had nothing to do with degeneracy or contact with white Americans, and that, as a matter of fact, the Apache tribe was the more disorganized of the two.

836 It seems reasonable to assume, in consideration of evidence at hand,
183 that the Havasupai, once settled on the reservation, merely continued the
178 practice of an established cultural pattern of sexual license. Reservation residence may have been a determining factor in producing a secondary change in the existing pattern, however, by affording opportunities for more frequent indulgence by each individual, and by permitting participation of a wider segment of the population in the general pattern. A change from restricted to somewhat preponderant sexual license is reflected in a similar change in public attitude toward such relations. While, formerly, public opinion rather vigorously denounced such behavior, present sentiment is milder in tone and less concerted in denunciation. This relative mildness of public censure apparently leaves members of the present younger generation undaunted in their preoccupation with sexual affairs.

834 Parents attempt to keep girls in ignorance of sexual relations until a
864 later age than they do boys. When a girl acquires information on the subject, her parents attempt to frighten her from experimentation by telling her she will become pregnant.

834 It was not learned whether small boys and girls experiment with each
684 other, but in 1952 it was reliably reported by two informants, one of whom was a witness, that a young man of 21 attempted to have intercourse with a cooperative little girl of seven. In the investigator's presence, about 10 minutes after it occurred, this episode was reported by a witness to a group of six or eight adults assembled to begin their afternoon gambling. In his absence the young man was publicly berated by the group which continued to gather. The youth in question, wayward, aggressive, and frequently in trouble for theft and other offenses, seems to be feared by many of his fellow tribesmen who report that he carries a knife and has threatened to use it on at least one occasion. When his father and uncle, who were among the
[626] gamblers, were told that they "ought to do something about him" both replied that they had chastized him verbally but in vain, and they were afraid to beat him because he would fight back.

834 Apparently, many girls are now initiated into sexual experience near
964 the time they reach puberty, their instructors probably being boys several years their senior. It is said that if a boy and girl are seen merely talking together on a trail, they are assumed to be having intimate relations in secret.

571 Girls usually go about in pairs or in groups of three or four. Their
834 demeanor customarily is shy and reserved, particularly in the presence of

7: Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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attitudes, but in this case there seems to be environmental determination. The home of the Havasupai is the one rich oasis in all western Arizona. If we picture them as originally like the Walapai with but a moderate interest in cultivation, once they were settled in Cataract canyon the extension of agriculture was well-nigh thrust upon them.

II

It appears to me that there are two primary trains of thought flowing from the consideration of a tribe's cultural position, one culture-historical, the other relating to the conditions of culture growth. What I mean by the latter will, I trust, become clearer as I proceed.

One inquiry is as valuable as the other: I should not be inclined to eschew culture history reconstructions on principle as A. R. Radcliffe-Brown seems to do. But for an understanding of the nature of culture and the processes by which its forms come into being, it seems unnecessary to indulge in historical reconstructions of grand scope. Some of the recent attempts in this direction, noticeably those dealing with American cultures, impress a moderately conservative individual as being highly tenuous or even downright careless and frivolous. Furthermore, this type of reconstruction is unnecessary.

A specific example, which is by no means extreme, is Kroeber's placing of girls' adolescence rites in California in an ancient cultural substratum.[6] His argument rests on the universality of the rites in that area despite its cleavage into several distinct culture provinces. Other traits having a much narrower distribution, such as the boys' initiations in the south and the Kuksu cult in central California, are in his opinion much more recent institutions. One might reaffirm Kroeber's opinion concerning girls' rites by pointing out that they are universal not only in California but throughout the Pacific coast from Alaska to the Southwest, whereas they are lacking to the east. We may at least assent that

[6] The History of Native Culture in California. Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., 20: 123–142, 1923.

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
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Several changes have occurred since Spier's visits. The Indians no longer spend the fall and winter months of each year on the Plateau gathering wild foods and hunting. Males are more prominent nowadays as workers of agricultural land, possibly because this is the chief source of food, whereas in earlier times male hunting and female gathering were important supplementary food-getting activities, especially during the season of Plateau residence. White influence, too, is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance. Correlated with the above changes, the custom of temporary matrilocal postmarital residence is disappearing.

Out of 57 intra-village marriages in the past 30 years, 38 were clearly patrilocal, 16 intermediate, and 3 permanently matrilocal. The patrilocal couples all work on the husband's family's land, or have already inherited a share of it. All of the 16 "intermediate" couples live where they do because of various exigencies involving the inheritance of the land they work and/or the acquisition of one of the few permanent type houses. Of the three cases of matrilocality, two occurred because the male's father's household had died out. The other case is that of Spoonhead, who inherited no land from his own family. The reason for this will be mentioned later.

It therefore appears that the second of Spier's conditions has taken place to some extent, namely, an increase in male prominence with more regularity in patrilocal residence. Furthermore, this seems correlated with patrilineal inheritance of land. Apparently this inheritance, however, has not been of the sort that has furthered the patrilineal tracing of kindred. Disposal of land has often been attended by acrimonious disputes, so that one is probably justified in judging that perhaps neither individual ownership nor simple patrilineal succession are necessarily the only rules by which land is allocated. With this in mind I shall attempt to describe land rights by summing up data which involved circumstantial cases of inheritance, transactions, wills, and other overt manifestations.

Items of personal use other than land are clearly owned by the individual, and objects which are on the land—houses, crops, horses, and the few cattle—are also individually owned, for there is abundant evidence that a person can dispose of these items largely as he wishes. When he dies, much of his personal property is buried with him, his house is burned or abandoned,[4] and the crops he

4 About half of the houses are now of a permanent type and are not burned at the occupant's death, but are temporarily abandoned, to be occupied later when needed. There is no particular rule of inheritance with respect to the permanent houses, so they can be considered negligible as a factor in this discussion of inheritance. In another type of community, house ownership could, of course, be very important. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *The Hopi-Clan*

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There is no marriage rule [illegible] A feeling that close relatives should not marry.[9] This probably helps account, in part, for the lack of patterning in acquisition of land for newly-weds. Sometimes a couple may hold different small plots of land which came to them from a variety of sources.

Land is sometimes held and worked in common by a group of relatives, though it is oftener divided as a matter of convenience. Sometimes only certain plots are held in common by an extended family, while the others are tended by individual members. There is apparently no feeling that one way is better than another. The tribe owns a large tract of grazing land on the Plateau, where they keep herds of economically useless horses. This area is common tribal land with no boundaries.

It is apparent that it would be misleading to sum up Havasupai land rights as "private property," for as Spier had already indicated,[10] the superficial appearance of individual land ownership is really ownership of the produce of the land. Actually there seem to be varieties of rights which pertain variously to the individual proprietor, the family, and the village.[11] The individual proprietor's rights to the land are largely rights to *use* the land. His control does not extend appreciably further than this, as can be inferred from the fact that if he fails to use the land, someone else soon occupies it. He has practically no rights which involve the disposal of the land, except insofar as he may be an influential voice in the deliberations of his family.

The rights of the consanguineal family are greater, and it is they who, in an immediate sense, have control over the disposition of their land. The rights of the community tend to be ultimate rights. Public opinion, and the council, when it is moved to act by a strong public feeling, is often the force which brings a family squabble to a decision compatible with the tribal interests. The three principles which guide land disposition—relationship, personal merit, and need—are public or tribal conceptions. The factor of relationship tends to keep the land within the family, and thus objectifies the familial rights, while by the latter two principles land tends to be distributed according to the best interests of the whole community.

The fact that a feeling of community rights in land is very strong among

9 Out of 59 intra-tribal marriages of individuals whose antecedents could be ascertained, 30 were between individuals of no traceable relationship; 9 were of distant relatives no closer than third cousins; 18 were of various degrees of second cousins; and only 2 were of first (cross) cousins, and they were once removed in generation.

10 *Problems Arising form the Cultural Position of the Havasupai* (American Anthropologist, vol. 31, pp. 213-222, 1929), p. 221.

11 See Max Gluckman, *Studies in African Land Tenure* (African Studies, vol. 3, no. 1, 1944) for a theoretical discussion of what he calls "clusters of rights."

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the Havasupai, and that use, merit, and need are such important considerations in the allocation of land, are factors which tend to keep patrilineal succession rather far from being a strict rule. The small community size probably helps keep the conception of village rights strong, and the limited amount of tillable land likewise contributes to the amount of community interest in land disposal, for otherwise there would soon be landless couples, while other families would have more than necessary.

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One further point made by Spier should probably be discussed in connection with community size. He had mentioned the possible influence of the small population in inhibiting the group consciousness of a larger consanguineal unit, but felt that this would be overcome by the tendency toward the reduction of the number of biological groups represented in the population.[12] Genealogies show that the blood groups are becoming reduced in number, as suggested, but the Havasupai still do not trace their lineages far enough to be aware of this. Lineages are not named, and even the use of the white man's type of surname has as yet had no effect in furthering the tracing of a patrilineal lineage beyond two or three generations, at the most. The "white name" is often changed, and a family may even have a name derived from an ancestral female. As an example of the tendency for a line to proliferate into new named families, three sons of a woman named Siyuidja founded three distinct families: the Siyuidja family, the Wescogame family, and the Watahomidja family. Therefore, I feel that the small population size continues to be of significance in inhibiting nucleation of the village.

My own data, collected twenty-six years after Spier's last visit, affirm, I believe, the essential validity of his analysis of an incipient clan system in Havasupai, and I add only that it appears to me that expansion of the population plus a corresponding increase of agricultural land are necessary ingredients before a unilinear lineage could become fully crystallized here, for only then would it be likely that a rule of patrilineal succession to familial lands could operate freely without interference from the strong conception of village rights which pertains at present.

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12 *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*, p. 487.

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [177] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matékaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chékúchéku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

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764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

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755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the illness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

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